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Ghamal.

552 The only name which I have recorded for a particular *ghamal* is for the existing *ghamal* of Pete-hul, which is called *ber hangawul*, meaning "ten posts," referring to the ten centre-posts which are the main feature of its construction.[1] The emotions leading to the adoption of this name are those of pride in the colossal achievement which, in the native view, this large building represents.

Lodges.

When we come to examine the names of the Quarter-Lodges and "Sides of the Lodge" we find a few references to the ritual of the Maki, but most are purely topographical, referring either to their position in the village or, more usually, to pleasant or otherwise interesting features of the spot they occupy. Most of these names begin with the locative particle *la-*, indicating place.[2] In Atchin this particle is used in ordinary parlance as inseparable from the noun, and all Lodges are referred to as *la-tap*, corresponding to the Vao *na-tamp*, with the result that in the actual names of Atchin Lodges this locative particle does not appear. Among the names of Vao Lodges listed in Table I, one, *La-tamp*, is simply this word without further qualification.

1. Examples of names connected with the Maki and cognate rites are:

   Peter-hei, including the word *peter*, meaning "stone (? s)," more usually met with in names of villages.

   La-mat-na-maki, "at the eye of the Maki," the word *mat* meaning "eye," but here used possibly in the sense of "fore-stone," to which the biggest sacrificial pig is tied.[3]

   La-tombo-tine, an alternative name for the above, means "at the great cemetery," the word *tombo* being a variant of *tamp*.

2. Topographical names:

   La-mbarang means "at the cave," referring to the large cave in the cliff behind the Pete-hul dancing-ground.

   La-mboi-na-ninge means "at the trunk of the *ninge* tree." [4]

[1] See p. 440.

[2] In much the same way as the French use the expression "*Au* Bon Marché," the English "*At* the sign of" or the German "*Zum* Goldenen Adler."

[3] See p. 425. The word *mat* is connected with the word *matan*, the usual Small Island word for "eye." Its use in ritual is, however, equivalent to the use of the Atchin word *no-on*, meaning "face," hence the connection with "fore-stone." Professor Hocart tells me that in Fiji *mata* means "face," "grave," or "sacred place." Thus, in Fiji, *mata ni-uoi* means "face of the water," *mata ni vanua* means "face or holy place of the land," i.e. "grave," and *mata ni-mbure* "face of the temple" or, in the same way as we see the Vao clan identified with its lodge, simply "clan."

[4] The word *mboi* means "trunk," as opposed to fruit or leaf, and corresponds to the Fijian *vu*.

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La-mbet-ra probably means "at the head of the yam," a synonym for "eldest son." [1]

La-mbang-ne-me-tine means "at the great banyan tree" (literally "the banyan tree which is great").

Na-tavu means, according to one informant, "the *tavò* tree," though by its pronunciation it more probably means "the conch."

La-tavò-wul-ghoghon is more explicit, meaning "at the *tavò* tree with the bitter bark."

Tosan na-hal means "the other side of the road," referring to its position in the village, on the other side of the road from its twin "Side of the Lodge" *Na-tavu* (see Map IV).

Lok-na-vali contains reference to a pudding (*na-longk*; Atchin *na-lok*): *vel-val* means "to fast."

The great mass of lodge names thus refer to natural features, and not to the Maki, and in this respect resemble the names of most of the villages on the eastern or seaward (Inferior) Side of the Island. The evidence of the names would suggest that the organisation into lodges, and the accompanying mortuary ritual, which has strong matrilineal features and is purely a family affair in contrast to the extreme publicity with which the whole Maki is conducted, belongs to an older layer of culture existing prior to the introduction of the Maki in its existing form which, as seen below, was derived from the mainland of Malekula in comparatively recent times.

[1] See p. 166.

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SECOND YEAR

Stone for Large Monolith Selected

The events connected with the erection of the stone-platform may, it will be remembered, under ideal circumstances, have been accomplished in a single year, but more often last over a period of two, three or even four years. Under ideal circumstances, again, only a year should elapse before the next act, though it may well be that the exhaustion of the supply of pigs and provender has been so great that yet another year goes by before the village has recuperated sufficiently to face the new drain on its resources.

The next act, which constitutes the second period of the rite, here referred to as the Second Year, is the selection of a coral block that is to serve for the single large monolith. This, like all stones, has a secular and a ritual name. Its secular name, as that of all monoliths, is *vet paraṽ*, which simply means "long stone." Its ritual name, as recorded by Godefroy, is *pal-palon*,[1] the same name as he gives for the stones supporting the table-stone of the dolmen, and meaning "that at which sacrifice is made." As given a trifle more exactly by my informant, it is *pal-pal na-mbò*, meaning "the sacrificial (stone) for pigs." I have unfortunately no information regarding its other functions except that, judging from Atchin and Wala parallels, it almost certainly represents male ancestors, in contrast to the female principle represented by the dolmen.

Originally probably the only monolith to be erected. Now accompanied by 199 small stones in imitation of Atchin monolith-Maki.

It is probable, from the evidence of my photographs, that in the unadulterated form of the Vao Maki as performed at Pete-hul only a single large monolith was erected, but in the account given to me by my Tolamp informant this monolith is only the largest of 100 to be erected on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, balanced by 100 further minute sacrificial stones placed on the Lower Side. This deviation from the true Vao Maki is probably due to the fact that my informant had in mind a form of the rite more nearly resembling the monolith-Maki as performed on Atchin and Wala, which is now so fashionable that it has already been adopted by the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao, and was performed recently in modified form at Togh-vanu, twin-village to Pete-hul.[2] Since this is the only account from Vao that I possess, it must, however, be given here in full, with the reminder that the addition of the

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1932, p. 232.

[2] My informant, Ma-taru, was himself at this time contemplating the performance of a similar form of the rite (see p. 435), and this fact also is probably responsible for the deviation of his own account from that of the true Vao Maki.

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Rites similar to Low Maki. Chief dance is Veluan Na-mbak.

The rites accompanying their erection follow almost precisely the same lines as those for Low Maki, differing from these mainly in the facts that

(*a*) there are now two dolmens to be set up instead of one;
(*b*) the whole gamut of operations is on a much more magnificent scale, surpassing even High Maki in the number and quality of boars sacrificed (never, on any important occasion, less than 100 at a time) and in the amount of food-stuffs distributed;
(*c*) the chief dance, taking the place of *Taur Na-mbak* in Low Maki and *Taure* in High Maki, is that called *Veluan Na-mbak*; and that
(*d*) if possible, a human being is secured for sacrifice.

The chief rites are, as for Low Maki:

(i) selecting of the table-stones on the reef, levering them up and dragging them out of reach of the tide;
(ii) dragging the table-stones up to the dancing-ground;
(iii) erecting the dolmens;
(iv) sacrifice at the dolmens, at which Maki-men take new titles and names and light new fires.

DOLMENS, LIKE ALL THINGS, HAVE PERSONAL NAMES

Names learnt in dreams. Those at Pete-hul called Wughi meaning "penis" and Lase meaning "testicle."

Each dolmen is invested with a personal name. Such names are said not to be invented by men, but to be inherent in the stones themselves. Thus, everything in the world, every stone, every tree and every animate or inanimate thing, is said to possess a personal name—"only," as my informant put it, "we do not always know what it is." Thus, no one suspected that the two table-stones used for the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul had names, until one night an old man of the *La-mbet-ra* Quarter of Pete-hul named Melteg-singo-tutun ("Lord Hot-Lip"), who is now dead, had a dream, and in his dream a ghost came to him and told him their names. These names, by which the two dolmens are now known, are *Wughi*, the name for the dolmen in front of the *ghamal*, and *Lase*, for the dolmen at the rear. It is difficult for us to believe that these names were inherent in the stones before their use was decided on, since they so exactly carry out the conception of the *ghamal* as a sanctified male human being, for *Wughi* means "penis"[1] and *Lase* is the word used for "testicle."[2]

[1] Cf. *wohin*, "glans penis," p. 508, note 2.
[2] An interesting case of what were originally, and still are, essentially female symbols being converted to represent the male generative organs, corresponding with the change from matrilineal to overt patrilineal descent.

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craft is steered by means of a long paddle (Fig. 55) held by the steersman on the port side to counteract the dragging effect of the outrigger float.

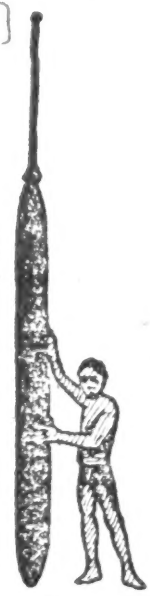

FIG. 55
Steering-paddle of a sea-going canoe (*nu-wak wala*).

Navigation by night.

Sea-going canoes furnished with sails were capable of long voyages by night as well as by day, navigation by night being assisted by considerable knowledge of the apparent movement of the stars. An account of a night voyage undertaken by the author with the natives of Atchin, together with some of the natives' astronomical observations, will be given in a later volume.

Canoes named after trees used in their construction.

Sea-going canoes may be made from the trunks of various trees, those I recorded being *tawò*, *nev*, *bagure* and *na-tor*.

Each individual canoe is named. The following list of canoe names in the order in which they were constructed shows that it is to the trees from which they were made that the name chiefly refers. These names are:

Vile	*Tawò borav(u)*
Tawò iwagh	*Tawò veturah*
Na-tor	*Vile*
Vile	*Na-tor*
Tawò mel	

Vile is presumably another tree from which canoes are made.[1]

Ownership.

If, when a sea-going canoe is to be made, a Maki is in progress, the canoe then belongs exclusively to the officiating "line" of Maki-men, that is to say, to the officiating matrilineal moiety within the double-village.[2] In this case, it will be the members of the introducing "line"

[1] Compare p. 79 for two Raga canoes made respectively from trees called *pego* (bread-fruit tree) and *nev*. A similar practice of naming canoes after the trees used in their construction is recorded also by Rivers (1, vol. I, p. 171) from Mota and Merlav. One of the trees so used is *tora*, corresponding to the Vao *na-tor*.

On the adoption of whalers in place of sea-going canoes this type of naming after trees could not be continued. Names given by the natives to their whalers, as recorded by Godefroy, are "New Year" (pronounced *niouyet*), the boat having been bought close to New Year's Day, "Comet," after Halley's comet which was clearly visible in the islands, "Queen," and "Saint-Michel."

[2] Compare Rivers's statement (1, vol. I, 209) that in North Raga "canoes are in no case individual property even now, but belong always to the *verana* as a whole," the *verana* being described as 'the subdivision of the [matrilineal] moiety the exact nature of which is uncertain,' but here appears to correspond with the Vao 'line.' In the same way, in Mota and Merlav the members of a crew are confined to a single matrilineal moiety (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 172).

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Proceedings begin with the dance called *Le-tean*, and when this is over, payment of pigs is made to all those living who have previously made the sail of a sea-going canoe.[1] These pigs are presented by the chief owner placing them one by one upon his shoulder and calling on the receiver to come and take it. *Tunen* is then danced till dawn, when pigs are killed and placed on heaps of yams for each village represented. There is no *na-leng*.

The sail is then taken to the beach and placed on the canoe. This is then launched and the sail hoisted, and as they sail away the crew stand on the outrigger-platforms dancing and singing songs of the *Tunen* song-and-dance cycle.

CONSECRATION RITE (GODEFROY'S ACCOUNT)

The Inauguration dance, of which the above is a brief and incomplete account, is probably connected with the Consecration rite which Godefroy records:

"This rite has for its object the putting of a taboo on the canoe or whaler, that is to say, making them taboo to women. Once such a vessel is consecrated, no woman may touch it, far less embark on it. . . .

"In 1926, the four smaller clans of Vao—always associated together against the two larger—combined to buy a whaler 30 feet long; it cost them £200. As they received delivery of it about New Year's Day, they called it 'New-year,' which they pronounce *niouyet*.[2] For three months it lay at anchor off the beach belonging to Norohure, save for a few short journeys to the neighbouring islets and to the Canal du Segond.

"On account of the ravages of the sea-worms which live in those warm waters and bore through the keels of wooden boats, they hastened to construct a shelter for their beautiful whaler. They immediately made this shelter taboo, by sacrificing a pig in the dancing-ground. This shelter is one of the four existing on the shores of the island; I say 'exist,' for in fact there was only one left standing at the time the shelter in question was erected, the others had fallen in and rotted where they were, but the natives referred to them as if they still existed, on account of the sacrifices that had been made for them.

"As for the whaler, she received a grand consecration, similar to that of one of the great chiefs.[3] In her honour were sacrificed a dozen great tusked boars and a hundred cocks and hens, and two tons of yams were offered and placed, all decorated, on the great *kal-kal*.[4] . . . Then the natives danced all night till dawn, as is done in the great [Maki] rites.

[1] I.e. when the canoe is made and owned by the active "line" of Maki-men, to the members of the introducing "line."

[2] A typical example of French transliteration. The *t* is of course silent.

[3] The word "chief" is used throughout this account to mean "man of high Maki rank."

[4] Yam-table.